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At a meeting of the superintendents and Boards of the fourteen largest American school systems, concerns were shared about the problems of education in large urban areas. A careful study of current and prospective youth opportunities was made, and findings are being implemented in appropriate programs in each of the cities. The problem of limited financial resources led to a cooperative study of fiscal policy. An intensive analysis was made of factors which indicate educational deprivation - low achievement, poor attendance, truancy, and high failure rate. The "Central Hypothesis" was developed which states that the problems of children of limited backgrounds can be effectively and economically solved by the development of a program of education adapted to their needs, the modification in organizational patterns within the school, proper selection and utilization of personnel, improved utilization of instructional materials and equipment, and involvement of parents and community in the educational program. It is hoped that a large number of children attending project schools will leave them with positive self-images, higher goals, greater scholastic achievement and improved citizenship, and that they will be more adequately prepared for continuing school or going to work, thereby being made independent, rather than dependent citizens.

In addition to these objectives, the Detroit program has the following special emphases: 1) a program of teacher-school-community improvement involving K-12 grade levels, 2) realistic fiscal support, and 3) recognition that long-term programs are needed if significant change is to be effected. Broad discussion and a plan for the evaluation of the Detroit project are included.

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BASIC CONSIDERATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING FOR CHILDREN IN DEPRESSED URBAN AREAS

Carl L. Marburger, Director
Great Cities School Improvement Program

For Presentation to the

Work Conference on Curriculum
and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas

July 12, 1962

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Introduction To The Problem[1]

In Detroit and other large cities across the nation are concentrated families whose children are severely hampered in their schooling by a complex of community, home, and school conditions. To engage the total problem faced by urban educators, we shall make a brief foray into the social pathology which produced it.

Change in the population of the inner cores of most large cities has created areas where the majority of children have extraordinary needs which the public schools are not prepared to meet. Where once the inner city population was typically "all kinds," it has now become typically stratified. The majority of upper and middle income urbanites have moved to the suburbs or to the outer rings of the city. The population that remains is predominantly unskilled or semi-skilled low-income racial and ethnic minorities. When representatives of other strata moved out, the vacuum was filled by Southern Appalachian white and southern Negro in-migrants similar in many ways to the low-income minority groups that had remained in the inner city.

Numbers of the city's manufacturing and service industries have followed the upper and middle income exodus. What remains is the glowing downtown section, a great multi-story civic and merchandising complex, serviced by expressways and surrounded by miles of slums and "transitional" or "gray" areas, still containing a few pockets of more affluent residential areas and

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[1]Extracted and paraphrased from Mitchell, Charles, "The Culturally Deprived—A Matter of Concern," Childhood Education, Vol. 38, Number 9, (May, 1962), pp. 412-415. Mr. Mitchell is the Project Writer for the Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project.

high rent apartment districts.

From these slums and transitional areas come one-third of the more than 3,000,000 children now enrolled in America's fourteen largest school systems. Many of them have limited backgrounds, and most of them are concentrated in the inner city schools.

The families of these children live for the most part in low-cost public housing, or in overcrowded, substandard-multiple dwellings of every type--or in single and two family homes in neighborhoods which are, in reality, transitional. Some of these neighborhoods are not yet slums, but their people are often in difficult straits, and the children reflect this in school.

The families of these children may have resided in Detroit for many years; but most came during and immediately after the Second World War to fill industry's needs for unskilled labor, or are very recent in-migrants from rural areas, particularly rural areas of the Southern states, who shifted from a land of no current or foreseeable opportunity to a land of possible--maybe--opportunity.

The in-migrant comes into a portion of the total community which is fragmented and uncohesive, lacks trained leadership and organization, and physically reflects the low, inconsistent income and the lack of information and skills of its inhabitants. Here, whatever booms or economic upturns may occur in other places, depression seldom ceases. A job is a will-o-the-wisp.

The family of the child with limited background may have many meritable standards and values. Even when its material well-being is limited to basic necessities, the family may be close-knit with love and caring.

But always, there is a common denominator: not enough. Not enough income, information, skills to get along successfully; no precedent for success; insufficiencies of many sorts. The child reflects this. He is poorly prepared and poorly motivated for school. School has never seemed important to his family or to him. Obviously there are some significant adjustments to be made.

With a sufficiency of income, information, motivation, and time--in short, in an ideal situation--urban life adjustment might evolve quite pleasantly. But the situation is poor, and many children have little to do except, as one teacher's report put it, "think about the hills of home, go to school each day unprepared and purposeless, and be 'sick to mah stomach from the gas stove' (quote from child) that heats a three-room flat."

The parents of these children are not against education. At worst they see no need for it, are indifferent. Many have hopes and ambitions for their children which involve obtaining a good education. They are glad if their child does well in school, but they often have little formal education themselves, know little about studies or how children learn. They feel that they cannot, in their lack of success, understand how to help the child succeed.

The child with limited background has normal intelligence. He is not different in this respect. He can grow up in school studies and in his life if reached and interested by what the school offers. And yet the typical child with limited background in the typical classroom is indifferent and purposeless, a poor communicator who does not respond to normal teaching methods and subject matter. His capabilities remain unrealized.

Why?

The traditional responsibilities of school staff and objectives of school services are based upon a uniform "Successful American" social and economic pattern and do not obtain effectively to the non-uniform social and economic patterns which characterize the neighborhoods from which these children come.

The typical school cannot compensate for the various lacks in the lives of children with limited backgrounds. The typical school does not provide these reinforcements to school learning which, in a stable, middle-income area, are normally provided each child by his home and out-of-school life.

Many of these reinforcements are intangible. They include: an acceptable self-image; knowledge of essentials such as nutrition and health; an implicit sense of identification with a stable family in a stable neighborhood; security and freedom from want, both material and emotional; the self-confidence and motivation to achieve which rub off on the child who is surrounded by things and involved in experiences which are accepted both <u>at home</u> and <u>in school</u> either as symbols of success or significant achievements.

Such positive factors are essential in some form in the growing up of a child. If they are insufficient or lacking, and no compensation is made for them, then the child's ability to learn in school is impeded or lost.

It seems reasonable that the educator should be concerned with <u>all</u> that affects the child he is trying to educate, and in fact teachers and administrators often informally cross traditional lines and do "unorthodox" things to help children who are not doing well in school. But except through the

attendance officer, the public schools, especially the urban public schools, seldom make official organized attempts to alter the "other lives" of children. If the family does little to help prepare the child for life, and the cultural environment of the child is limited and negative, then the one force left to do the necessary shaping is the school. It must provide more for the child than it normally would, at the same time attempting, with other community services, to revive the family's positive influence and to introduce portions of our culture and our society which tend to equalize the child's limited and negative environment.

In truth, we must say with Harold Taylor that,

> The educator must go to the root of the matter, and he must deal with the whole child. The root is in the social and economic conditions in which the child exists. The educator must deal bluntly with those who support the residential segregation of the colored people and the poor. He must fight those who wish to profit in real estate at the expense of the children. He must think of education as a total process, in which the conditions of society deeply affect the child's mind, the level of his achievement, and the range of his possibilities. The curriculum, the classroom, the guidance office are instruments for dealing with one part of the child's life. But they do not and cannot function in a social vacuum.
>
> Nor is it permissible any longer to say that the social environment of the child is not the problem of the educator, that it belongs to city planners, social workers, economists, housing experts, or society. It belongs to everyone, but most of all to the educator. The educator is not a personnel manager, an administrator, an organization man, although his work involves organizing, managing, and administering. He is a social and intellectual leader, and he begins to exercise his leadership when he recognizes the conditions of his society and brings to bear upon them the force of a humanitarian philosophy.[1]

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[1]Taylor, Harold, "The Whole Child: A Fresh Look," Saturday Review, Education Supplement, (December 10, 1961), pp. 42-43.

The Great Cities Projects

The superintendents and Board of Education members of the fourteen largest city school systems met five years ago in Atlantic City, New Jersey to share their concerns about the problems of education in large urban areas. Their first cooperative exploration took them into the World of Work, and a careful study of current and prospective youth employment opportunities. A vocational education specialist was appointed to coordinate the efforts of the Great Cities in this area. The World of Work study continues, and findings are being implemented in programs seen as appropriate by each of the cities.

Another difficulty shared by large city educators, that of limited fiscal resources, has led to a cooperative study of fiscal policy. If educators are to equalize and expand educational opportunity, or simply to hold ground against the press of increased enrollment, from where is the money to come? Again, a consultant was secured, and along with staff persons from each city, began to study possible resources and to formulate recommendations for revision of Great Cities fiscal policies.

The third problem shared by the large city educators was that of educating the increasing numbers of children with limited backgrounds. After intensive analysis of the factors which indicate educational deprivation—low achievement levels, lack of kindergarten experience, poor attendance, high truancy, overagedness in grade, high rate of failure, and the range of home and community deprivation—the Great Cities teams developed what they called "The Central Hypothesis." This hypothesis states that the problems of

children with limited backgrounds can be effectively and economically solved by:

Development of a program of education adapted to the needs of these children,

Modifications in the organizational patterns within the school,

Proper selection and utilization of personnel,

Improved utilization of instructional equipment and materials, and

Involvement of parents and of the community in the educational program.

Under the leadership of Dr. S.M. Brownell, Superintendent of Schools, and the direction of Dr. Carl Byerly, Detroit began testing this hypothesis in September, 1959. Detroit's pilot project, involving three schools in the central city, was the first demonstration project among the Great Cities. Further, the pilot demonstration project was financed entirely by the Detroit Board of Education. In July, 1960, the Ford Foundation provided financial support to the Detroit Project and to several other great cities as well. This initial one-year grant made it possible to "buy time," by intensifying project activities and expanding project coverage from three to seven schools. The Ford Foundation extended the initial Detroit grant for an additional three years in July, 1961. Grant extensions have also been made to other Great Cities Projects.

The Great Cities teams of superintendents and Board of Education members have recently formed the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement to coordinate the various activities under their jurisdiction. The most current result of their concern is an investigation of pre- and in-service education of teachers. The Research Council intends to

find and recommend more effective ways to prepare teachers for the demanding work of teaching not only the children with limited backgrounds, but all children.

Thus, the Great Cities are engaged in cooperative study and action programs designed to solve the many problems peculiar to large city school systems. They intend to develop, and to prove effective, a total educational program for large urban areas.

Although many of the difficulties encountered by urban schools ensue from "urban blight" and its effect on children and families, it is clearly recognized that educational planning needs to be for all children and all schools, and not only for the children and the schools in depressed urban areas. Certainly the central hypothesis, put forward by Great Cities educators as a viable solution for the problem of providing a good education for the child with limited background, can be used to provide a good education for all children.

The Detroit Project--Working Toward More Effective Education

The objective of the Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project is to increase the competence of children with limited backgrounds. By competence, we mean not academic competence alone, but competence of the "whole child" in the Harold Taylor meaning of the phrase--social competence, urban living competence, and job, or work skill competence--including the ability to learn new job skills if needed. In addition to the five points of the Great Cities hypothesis, the Detroit program has these special emphases:

1. A program of teacher-school-community improvement is more effective if all levels of a school system serving an area (K-12) are involved.

Therefore, the seven schools in the Detroit Project include three elementary schools (K-6); one elementary school (K-8); two junior high schools, (7-9); and one senior high school, (10-12).

2. The program should be one which can be financed within the resources of the school budget over a long period, if it can be shown (as we anticipate) that the results of the project warrant the program's continuation and extension into other areas of the city whose school populations have similar problems and needs. Therefore, the yearly budget for the five years of the demonstration project represents an increase of less than ten percent above normal costs per pupil for the city. Thus, the budget, including the Ford Foundation grant (30% of the total budget), is realistic in terms of the fiscal support expected for schools in the Detroit area.

3. Any program designed to solve the problem of educating the child with limited background must operate intensively for several years. Solution of the educational problem involves making long-term changes in family and community attitudes and behavior, as well as changes in a more or less immediate nature in the pupil-teacher relationships and services available to the pupil. Time is needed to assure that systems of change shall be functional and lasting in effect. Therefore, Detroit's is a six-year project in the three pilot project schools, and a five-year project in the remaining four. Further, there is a commitment to evaluate the working effect of the project far beyond the actual completion date of its program.

With regard to the Great Cities hypothesis, the Detroit project makes use of several major approaches to the solution of the problems of educating children with limited backgrounds.

One major approach is our work with teachers. Improvement of schooling depends to a great extent upon more effective teaching. Therefore, we strive to modify the perceptions of the teachers of children with limited backgrcunds as this perception relates to these children, their community, and their curriculum. Many teachers initially perceive these three negatively; that is, in the light of their own experiential backgrounds. Teachers may bring to their work a rigid value system different than that of the populace of depressed urban areas--a value system, for instance, which pre-supposes certain limits on the intelligence and ability of the child with limited background. Some teachers have been reared in a different socio-economic situation, and have difficulty in assessing the child with limited background objectively. Other teachers have, through their profession, moved up the socio-economic ladder, and may possibly (and paradoxically) reject the all-too-familiar values of the children they teach. In any case, it is not unusual to find in the classroom a critical need for belief in the universal learning ability of humankind, regardless of socio-economic condition.

Our first attempt to bring about appropriate changes was through a series of workshop experiences. Competent consultants were secured in many disciplines; education, sociology, social work and psychology. Our experience leads us to believe that very few significant changes in the behavior of teachers take place as a result of listening to experts. Those teachers who

were tuned in to hear the expert believed and behaved in terms of what they had heard. Those teachers who were not tuned in to hear the experts did not change their behavior to any noticeable degree as a result of hearing them. The key to modification of behavior seems to be involvement.

Our workshops and in-service experiences have, therefore, been structured around local school curriculum problems and have usually involved only a single school staff. We have found that curricula vary from school to school, from community to community, and from school staff to school staff. To achieve the kind of involvement that brings positive change, each school staff must look seriously at its unique community, the unique problems of its youth, and its own unique strengths and weaknesses as a staff. Then the school staff may search for appropriate curricular and organizational modifications to strengthen its own school situation.

Our attempts to assist staffs to do this have taken several forms. We have provided workshop experiences through the local university. If teachers and administrators wish to have a course for credit toward an advanced degree or a number of hours beyond the Bachelor's or Master's, they may pay tuition to the university for the workshop experience. If they wish to be a part of the workshop but do not wish the credit, the Detroit Great Cities Project pays their tuition so that they may audit the course.

Other local school curriculum workshops have taken place on Saturdays, and also during the summer months. As a part of the Detroit school policy, teachers involved have been paid for their time on Saturdays and during the summer. Further, some released time has been devoted to in-service education. Indications are that more released time is now an essential need.

As a result of these in-service experiences, some organizational and curricular changes have been made. We have instituted the non-graded primary in two elementary schools. Block-time and core classes are being held in the junior high schools. Team teaching is being tried in two of the schools.

Curriculum modifications come more slowly. One significant curriculum change has taken place in our early elementary reading materials—but not without difficulty. It has long been felt that children might read with greater facility if the material with which they were dealing was more nearly related to their own real backgrounds. Negro youth, for example, rarely have an opportunity to see a Negro child illustrated in the little picture books with which they learn to read. Through a series of writing workshops we set out to build a series of pre-primers which would focus on the life of a working class family living in a typical, racially-mixed urban neighborhood. In spite of the sophistication of the writing committee members, we now know first hand the perils of revolutionary primer-writing. The artist doing illustrations for the series depicted some typical housekeeping situations (brooms leaning in the corner, a kitchen sink with exposed pipes beneath it) and this, at least relative to other pre-primers, which do not treat the realities of housekeeping quite as fully, was taken simply as poor housekeeping, and thereby as a derogation of the Negro, since this was the home of a Negro family.

The first pre-primer was only one-third the length of a normal pre-primer, because we wanted each child to have the satisfaction of completing a book

in a short time. Thus we inadvertantly left the father out of the first pre-primer; indeed, we did not even refer to him. This was also interpreted as a derogation, not only of the Negro family depicted, but of Negro families in general. Finally, we called the little boy hero of the series "Sammy." It was an unfortunate choice, and was seen by middle-class Negro families as "sterotype by insinuation."

Having gleaned some important lessons from this experience, we expanded our primer writing committee with a number of consultants, both lay and professional, and revised the series. The first three pre-primers of this series will be available in four-color in September of 1962, for experimental testing.

Other minor curricular changes have taken place at different levels. We have produced some units for block-time classes at the secondary level, which have been found to be very useful throughout the entire school system for block-time classes.

Perhaps the only significant change in curriculum is what happens when the individual teacher closes the door of her classroom. Assuming the requisite skills in teaching the basic materials, the teacher's attitude is the most crucial factor.

At this point in our project, we conceive the formula that teacher-expectation has a surprising impact on pupil-achievement. Indeed we might even say that teacher-expectation has a similar impact on pupil intelligence scores. The teacher who expects achievement, who has hope for the educability of his pupils, indeed conveys this through every nuance and subtlety of his behavior. The teacher who conveys hopelessness for the educability of his

usually does so without ever really verbalizing such an attitude—at least, in front of his pupils.

With regard to expectations of pupil ability to learn, a significant experiment was done recently by Dr. Robert Rosenthal of the University of North Dakota. In a carefully controlled experiment, twelve senior division students in experimental psychology were assigned a group of five albino rats for running through a maze ten times a day for five days. Although the rats were randomly selected, each student was informed that the rats were either "maze-bright" or "maze-dull."

> Results indicated that on three of the five days and for the experiment as a whole, Es /Experimenters/ believing their Ss /Subjects/ to be bright obtained performance from them significantly superior to that obtained by Es believing their Ss to be dull. The Ss believed to be bright appeared to be learning the problem while those believed to be dull did not. These results occurred in spite of the fact that on the level of verbal report both groups of Es wanted their Ss to perform well. In addition, a research assistant following the identical experimental procedure was able to obtain without "cheating" performance from her Ss superior even to that obtained by Es believing their Ss were bright. Comparing the degree of correlation between what each E specifically expected to obtain from his Ss and what he actually did obtain from them for the "Bright" and "Dull" groups suggested that these groups were about equally biased although, of course, in opposite directions.[1]

Thus, even when dealing with non-human subjects, the experimenter's expectations seem most significant in determing the performance of the subject. Certainly the expectations of the teacher for her pupils can determine, particularly in depressed urban area schools, the school survival or non-survival of the youth. If nothing else, teacher-expectation affects the

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[1]Rosenthal, Robert, and Fode, Kermit L. The Effect of Experimenter Bias on the Performance of the Albino Rat, unpublished manuscript, University of North Dakota.

time spent in preparing to teach, the amount of real concern for individual students, and the degree of "soul" the teacher gives to his work.

The involvement of an almost total staff, including administration, would seem then to be essential for innovation in curriculum, and for modification of behavior to insure truly effective teaching. We obviously cannot expect anything approximating 100% involvement of staff, but the nearer we come to this ideal, and to the contagion of enthusiasm which results from it, the greater the possibility of creating the milieu in which youth, particularly disadvantaged youth, can learn.

In order that teachers of children with limited backgrounds may maintain enthusiasm for teaching, and hope for the educability of their children, they must be continually reinforced. The teacher needs adequate resources to combat the corrosive influences of emotional and physical poverty with which many of his students live day in and day out. The teacher needs help to teach effectively in spite of the inadequate facilities which often seem typical of inner city schools. High transiency rates and the generally low achievement of pupils beset by out-of-school difficulties which carry over demonstrably into the classroom can overwhelm the most conscientious teacher.

The Detroit Project does provide some reinforcement to teachers. Additional personnel, whose duties are discussed at length later in this paper, provide some aid in working with children whose reading, speech and arithmetic disabilities are pronounced, in developing stronger ties and understanding between families and the school, and so forth. Referrals of children with

physical or emotional difficulties can be made more readily by the classroom teacher in Great Cities Project schools. After school and evening programs, with clubs, remedial and enrichment classes, and recreational activities tend to provide a more beneficient climate for the child than street play might provide, and to orient the child more specifically to the school and the teacher than would otherwise be so. A full summer school program involving a large percentage of the school population not only provides interesting learning and recreational experiences for the child, but helps him to carry over what he has learned, in behavior as well as in actual knowledge, from one school year into the next.

One more concrete means of reinforcement is the addition to the general fund of each school a sum ranging from $350 to $450 to be used by the staff for the purchase of small supplies and materials which are not available through normal requisition channels. Another is the provision of funds and transportation for an additional four to five hundred bus trips to farms, parks, museums and the like for the seven schools in the project.

Significant though these additions may be, they are basically without purpose if the teacher does not have the opportunity in his classroom to be experimental, to be innovative, to be free to do those things which are

important for the children. Such freedom to do what is needed is there, or is lamentably lacking, in accordance with the administrative style of the principal of the school. Is the school's administrative staff restrictive or non-restrictive, authoritarian or democratic, legalistic or expeditious? These are knotty questions to ask, difficult questions to answer, but they are important since they are germane to the nature of the teaching and learning processes which exist in each school. It has often been stated that the most important single individual in any community is the elementary school principal. I would extend this to all levels of school administration, elementary and secondary. To illustrate, the most obvious deterrant to enthusiastic and imaginative teaching is the authoritarian who sees his school as an armed camp which admits a school population in the morning, regiments them until early afternoon, and then sends them home, five days a week. More insidious and difficult is the legalist, who represses his staff, who processes each decision with perfect logic and imperfect premises, who operates exclusively through a tight chain of command, who so dampens enthusiasm and subverts innovation that any external assistance provides only short-term, palliative results.

Documentation of the statements made above regarding teacher attitude and administrative behavior is very difficult. We have considerable evidence to support these statements. However, because of the experimental nature of the project there is need to preserve a modicum of security, since release of research data could indeed contaminate the results of the experiment, particularly with our control schools. Some of the methodology used in our research will be discussed later in this paper.

The second primary focus of our attention is upon the parents and the community. Once again, this is a question of involvement. Parents who are not involved, who do not know what is taking place in the school, can certainly not reinforce what the school is doing with their children. We also see a need to involve parents and the community so that we may raise the aspirations of the parents and their children with regard to academic and social achievement. Parents in depressed urban areas typically stay away from schools. They stay away from school because their own experiences have been either unpleasant or short-lived or both. They are fearful of the institution of the school and they lack information about what is taking place in the school. They do not typically join organizations and therefore do not normally attend parent group meetings, do not participate in adult education classes -- they generally avoid all school contacts.

We have tried to make our Great Cities Project schools true community schools. This means that the schools have of necessity to be open from eight in the morning until late at night. One of our first approaches to parents was to ask them to tell us the kinds of experiences they would like to have in the afternoons and evenings for themselves and for their children.

The parents so contacted were normally those who were more articulate, more solvent economically and who had higher aspirations for themselves and their youth. The so-called hard-to-reach parents were not particularly interested regardless of what the school might offer. Using those parents who could and would respond to our inquiries, we first provided free clubs and classes which were of the upgrading nature. These classes were designed to help parents gain more skills. Often parents had unrealistic expectations about these classes, believing that jobs would become available to them as a result of their classwork. A few have gained some skills through these classes and have been able to obtain, if not better employment, at least techniques which enhanced their leadership potential and communications skills. These first classes included shorthand, speech, typing, sewing, millinery, cake decorating and the like. The parents then told us that such classes were fine, but asked if it might be possible to provide some classes in reading and arithmetic so that parents could refresh these skills and help their children in their studies. This we did.

Even more crucial than these skill classes were the informal groups, clubs, and classes which were organized around parents' newly expressed needs. Simply the opportunity to meet together, to plan for their youngsters, to take short-term enrichment classes, to learn how to budget, how to prepare food, how to repair furniture, to be more efficient and effective in household tasks and family relations -- all of these provided the adults with opportunities to bolster self-esteem and to raise aspirations for themselves and their children.

These clubs and classes have been taught by teachers on both a voluntary

and paid basis and by lay persons from the local community and from the total metropolitan area. In addition, many youth from the community have been hired as baby-sitters, teacher's aids and assistants for afternoon and evening classes and clubs. Altogether there are more than 200 after-school clubs and classes for youth and adults in the seven schools.

Each school has had to organize after-school and evening activities in terms of its own community and the needs of that community. Some of the schools have put a greater emphasis on the enrichment programs for youth in the afternoon, others on adult programs in the evening. The greatest difficulty in involvement of youth and adults has naturally come at the secondary level, where the ambivalence of youth toward their parents and the size of the school attendance area mitigate against parental participation in school functions.

We have reached not only the "parents who go to PTA meetings"; we have been able, through the skills of some of our additional personnel, to involve a great many of the so-called hard-to-reach parents. The number of people involved in these after-school and evening activities varies, because of the short-term duration of some of the classes and clubs, but it averages between 1500 and 2000 youth and adults each week.

One of the dangers inherent in such involvement of parents is the over-involvement of certain parents. We found that many of our adults would attend as many as four and five evenings a week, with the result that our program tended to fragment rather than bind families closer together. We have gone a long way in solving this problem by scheduling family nights, when the entire family participates in the available activities. We further

restrict the number of evenings any family may be involved. We have also experienced some difficulty as a result of the hiring of local people. The moment that one hires people from the local community, one gives them a status which then raises them above their peers and sometimes causes a degree of rejection and considerable resentment of their new leadership capacity.

A further difficulty is the tendency to develop "programs for program's sake" rather than in terms of the needs of the community. Competition often sets in between schools and results in the scheduling of classes without any inquiry into the needs, expressed and otherwise, of the local school community.

One additional hazard that is very real in this community-school sort of operation in urban depressed areas is the danger of making the parents too dependent on the school. Parents must become dependent on the school initially, if they are to be involved at all. They must see the school as a resource for helping them with their personal and community problems. This project will not succeed if it does not develop an indigenous leadership, which assumes responsibility on its own for the problems of individuals and the local community. We have no intention of relieving parents of their responsibilities as parents, but we want them to ask for help so that they can find ways of working out the solutions to their problems themselves. We attempt in this manner to revive the positive parent-child relationship which is so often lacking in the disadvantaged family.

In order to accomplish both the teacher and parent reinforcement, we must have additional help for the regular staff of each school. This we have provided by adding three additional personnel to each of the school staffs; a school-community agent, a full-time visiting teacher and a full-time

coaching teacher or language arts consultant.

Theoretically, the school-community agent should be a trained social worker with experience in both community organization and group-work. We were not able to achieve this ideally, but have some persons with this background and others with professional training (usually in education) and considerable experience in community organization and group-work activities. The school-community agent is, simply enough, a liaison between the community and the school. This person interprets to the community the functions of the school and interprets to the staff of the school the realities of the community. One of the agent's most important functions is to work with organized block clubs and community councils and parent groups, if these exist, and to help organize such groups if they do not exist. In addition, we have asked these agents to assume responsibility for the after-school and evening programs for youth and adults. Often these two roles are in serious conflict. The administrative and supervisory functions which are part of the after-school and evening programs do not allow the school-community agent the freedom he requires to become the detached worker; a role which we have found is essential to successful organization of a fragmented and uncohesive depressed area neighborhood. Further, the administrative style of each school can limit the agent to a program director's capacity or free him to become a detached expert doing constructive work in the neighborhood.

The visiting teacher is the school social worker. This person has had specific training in the case-work methodology and operates primarily with children and the parents of children who have crucial school-adjustment problems. The visiting teacher is normally assigned in the Detroit schools; but

she is usually assigned to six or more schools and spends perhaps a half a day a week in each school attempting to handle an unrealistic case load in this fragmented fashion. In the Great Cities Project, the visiting teacher is assigned full time and is thus able to establish roots in the neighborhood and to work closely with the specific problems of the school and the community, its youth and parents. She is able to deal more successfully with fewer cases, to know and understand the school staff and politics, and to become identified with her school and hence with parents. As we examine the role of the visiting teacher in the new five-day-a-week involvement in a single school, we are asking additional questions about the training and certification of these persons. A Michigan law requires that visiting teachers be certified as teachers and, in addition, have a Master's degree in social work with emphasis in case work. We are questioning the necessity for the teaching certificate and are examining the possibility of a combination case and group-work training because the needs of the clients often dictate group-work rather than case-work therapy.

The coaching teacher is actually a language arts teacher who is performing special remedial functions with children who are retarded in reading. She often conducts small classes ranging from five to fifteen children working on the particular skill deficiencies of children. Once again, the coaching teacher's role is changing. She often finds it more effective to work less specifically with small groups of children and more with total staff in helping all teachers gain the necessary skills to work with the reading deficiencies of children regardless of the subject matter area.

We have seen some startling results show up in achievement in the

relatively short period of a semester or a year as a result of this individualized attention given to students by the coaching teachers. We cannot make any claims about this progress in achievement until we have a look at it over a long period to see if there is a retention of the gain.

In addition to the use of these specialized personnel we have also had intensive public and private agency involvement. The success of any community-school venture depends in large measure on the concentrated use of available public and private agency personnel and resources. The Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project has therefore developed these programs:

1. In cooperation with the Neighborhood Service Organization and the Detroit Behavior Project, day camps were conducted at one of our schools during the summer of 1961 for 55 emotionally disturbed children from the project schools.
2. We have used the YMCA and YWCA programs and facilities. In addition to the use of their busses and physical facilities, we have many YMCA and YWCA groups meeting in our after-school program with agency, school, and lay personnel involved in leadership capacities.
3. We have shared facilities and personnel with the Detroit Parks and Recreation Department. We use one of their large recreation centers, and they use the swimming pools in the school buildings. The Detroit Parks and Recreation Department, a municipal agency separate from the schools, has also provided new programs in project schools where no recreation program had existed before.
4. We have increased the school's use of public library facilities, by shuttle-bussing children in "library caravans" to inner-city libraries. Parents served as assistant librarians on these ventures.

5. We are conducting intensive research into the relationship between physical and nutritional needs of children and the learning process, in cooperation with the Detroit Department of Health, which is a separate city agency. The health examination clinic, which was established in one of our schools by the Pilot Club of Detroit, contains all of the equipment and facilities necessary to do a complete physical examination of the school population. The Detroit Department of Health is providing funds to reimburse the examining pediatricians.
6. We have had continuing contacts with local churches as an integral part of the school-community agents' function.

Often in urban depressed areas there is a tendency for churches and both public and private agencies to move their services from that area to other areas where progress is more easily identified. The agencies which remain in the depressed area often provide overlapping services to the hard-to-reach parents of the community. This leads to the duplication of financial aid and conflicting advice being given to families.

As a result, the Detroit Great Cities Program has developed a theoretical rationale clarifying the role of the school as it relates to the agencies and social work methodologies. This rationale is dynamic, in that it changes as new insights and role definitions develop.

We feel that the public schools, particularly the elementary schools, provide the best structures in which social-work functions may be performed. The encapsulated, or limited and defined, elementary school population and the inclusion within elementary school boundaries of a relatively fixed population, offer one of the best field situations presently available.

The school has other assets. It is established, it has access to the home, and its records for each child will automatically provide information on a large percentage of the population in the school's boundaries. Such boundaries do include the families of parochial and private students and citizens whose children have gone through school. In these cases, even though the social work contact is not as readily made, at least the boundaries are fixed and provide a localized area for social work operation. The elementary school, therefore, could provide the basis of operations for case-work, group-work and community-work functions. These functions could be operated by school personnel or by public, private, and agency personnel. Yet at the present time, exclusive of this project, Detroit's schools are involved only in limited casework through the Visiting Teacher Program.

The schools provide little in the way of group-work functions. The one best example of group-work therapy presently in the Detroit Schools is the School Behavior Project which uses "Action Teams" of school and agency personnel in work with disturbed children referred by the school. Otherwise, the only existent group-work functions are basically of a recreational and instructional nature and performed, after school, both by Detroit Public School personnel and by agency people from many organizations and institutions. In spite of the school's ideal locus, community organization functions are left almost entirely in the hands of non-school personnel, with the rare exception of the sophisticated administrator who operates in this area to a limited extent.

The Great Cities School Improvement Project is embarked upon activities in all three aspects of social-work functions.

With regard to the community organization aspect, the community agent already serves as an organizer in each of the local communities.

Thus the school-community agent, particularly the agent in the elementary school, can be a most effective instrument for the performance of the crucial community organization activities as the project develops from its demonstration stage into a program for all schools in depressed urban areas.

With regard to the aspect of group-work services of a recreational and instructional nature, the schools can fill many of the needs of a local community. Adult evening programs offering appropriate up-grading, training, and re-training courses might be conducted on a non-fee or "ability to pay" basis in the high schools and junior high schools. At all school levels, but with emphasis at the elementary, parent and youth groups and clubs, meeting informally, could partially fulfill the project's objectives by increasing parent reinforcement of the school program and raising the aspirations of the participants. In addition to organizing and operating these informal groups in the schools, the school-community agent can act as the catalyst in bringing to the schools those group-work services of a recreational, crafts, and character-building nature as already provided by agencies in the community. Further, the school could serve in a coordinating capacity with the agencies which have facilities within the school area, so that services would cover the school evenly without duplication and wasteful expenditure of time and energy.

With regard to the aspect of group-work used in rehabilitation of disturbed children, it is obvious that competent, trained group-workers and therapists would be more effective than school personnel. In addition, the

school setting is one in which most disturbed youngsters have met defeat and failure, and often presents a block to the progress which might be made with group therapy. It may be appropriate, therefore, to use existing neighborhood facilities other than the school building. The school team needs to be involved in these kinds of activities, however, in much the same way as it is involved presently in the work of the School Behavior Project. The school team would continue to be a source of referrals to the therapy group.

The case-work methodology has already been mentioned in the discussion of the role of the visiting teacher. We feel that the full-time utilization of this school social worker in the Great Cities Project schools adds real strength to this dimension of each school's social work functions.

The implication might be drawn from this emphasis upon a rationale for the school as a social work agency that we have a dream that the school should be all things to all people. The answer to this is emphatic: certainly not! The school must concern itself primarily with the academic enhancement of children. Yet, if the school is to prepare all youth for the world of work, and for an independent social, economic and political life, the school needs to examine its traditional role in the light of past successes and failures. Who can say we have really succeeded with educationally disadvantaged youth in the past? It would seem that both school and society must face, and work to disarm, the "social dynamite" referred to by Dr. Conant in his Slums and Suburbs.

Here, the implication stands: it is very possible that the school must be more effective if it expects to produce competent, well-educated young

adults. The rationale for incorporation of the social work methodologies into the school's program is an attempt to enhance the school's effectiveness in an area of great importance, particularly in depressed urban communities, where the effects of a deprived out-of-school life impinge upon the child's in-school life, and limit his ability to learn.

We propose, along with renewed and creative efforts with staff and curriculum, the intensive use of the social work methodologies as a part of the school's daily operation. Acceptance of the concept of the school as a social work agency affords a new opportunity to do preventive rather than remedial work with problems of youth and adults in the local community; with the goal of reinforcing the academic competence of youth. There is no intent to suggest that the schools should or could do this alone. Indeed, cooperation between school and agency is the only feasible solution. The schools, however, are in a strategic position to be the case-finding agency, the referral agency, and the catalytic agency to those groups organized to render appropriate services. In addition, the school is a public facility which needs to be utilized--by individuals and agencies and by the community for the common good.

Evaluation

The Detroit Project is unique in that a full-time evaluator, Dr. William M. Rasschaert, has been assigned to its staff. In initiating the project in Detroit, it was recognized that programs with demonstrated effectiveness should be continued and extended to schools currently un-

involved in the project--with the stipulation that an expanded program could not exceed an annual ten per cent per student cost increase. Not every part of the project program will remain in use. To meet cost limits, project staff must analyze statistics and data computed and filed during the five-year run, and use its findings to establish a priority list, top-rating the elements of the project program which had the most significant effect in increasing school success of the child with limited background. Recommendations from this priority list will become the program used in extended project activities.[1]

In the original evaluation design, two types of control schools were used:

> Control Type A: These four schools (two elementary, a junior high, and a senior high school) are in generally the same geographic area of the city as are the experimental schools. The achievement and ability levels of the pupils are quite similar to those of pupils in the experimental schools.
>
> Control Type B: In this group here are five schools (three elementary, one junior high, and one senior high school) and these are located in obviously different geographic parts of Detroit than the project schools. As measured by Detroit city-wide testing programs, the achievement and ability scores of the pupils in these schools consistently reflect higher levels of attainment.

As part of the total Evaluation design, the project staff has prepared a document entitled A Plan for Evaluating Major Activities in Great Cities School Improvement Programs. Nine categories of teaching-learning, school-

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[1]Mitchell, op. cit. p. 419.

community, and pupil-parent-teacher activities have been considered in terms of the specific (1) nature of each activity, (2) suggested treatment of data accruing from such measurement. Among the broad categories into which all activities are ordered according to their function in the program are Pupil Achievement, Attitude Changes, Behaviorial Changes, Evaluation of Teaching Materials and Techniques, School Community Relations, and School Health. Activities in each of these nine categories receive careful evaluation as we attempt to determine to what degree each activity is effective relative to the total program. For instance, in the category of behavioral change, which is most effective, the workshop at which experts speak or the workshop which involves school staff in planning curriculum change? And, relative to the total program, which has proved more effective in educating the child, modification of teacher perception or a more intensive school health program? In other words, where do we put our money to get results?

The Great Cities School Improvement Program has taken advantage of data made available by the various city-wide testing programs--the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, the SCAT-STEP, and the various intelligence testing programs at several grade levels. In addition, results of achievement and intelligence tests administered to project and control school pupils with tests other than those used city-wide will continue to supply us with more and different kings of measurement data. Examples of such additional tests are the California Achievement tests and the Lorge-Thorndike Tests of Intelligence, Verbal and Non-Verbal.

In addition to comparing pupils in project schools to pupils in Control Types A and B schools, we also intend to "follow" project-school children and measure their individual growth in ability and achievement areas over the next three years. Similarly, we are evaluating the children who attend our summer schools to attempt to determine if this type of enrichment effects improvement over a full school year of pupil-work. In terms of evaluation, the over-all pattern of this project will include two methods of looking at results with children:

1. Measurement of pupil growth in project schools as interpreted relative to two different control groups; one group in an depressed area very similar to that in which the project schools are located, and one group in an area which is very substantial and middle-class.
2. Examination of growth in selected characteristics from one period to another; this could mean using sub-populations and doing individual and group measurements or using the case study method with selected individuals.

In addition to the above, school and sociological base-line data have been collected regarding attendance, failure, lack of kindergarten experience, delinquency and youth and adult crime, and population density and transiency in each school's service area. A Pupil Information and Attitude Inventory was also devised by project teachers and administrators and administered to the children in the project schools from grades 4 - 12. This survey, after compilation of the data, is a part of each child's cumulative record.

Two instruments have been devised to examine the crucial factors of teacher information and teacher attitude. The Teacher Information Questionnaire was constructed by a group of sixteen classroom teachers in the project schools. This survey has been administered to all the teachers in the experimental and control schools. Frequency distribution and second-order runs with selected questionnaire items have been tabulated at the University of Michigan Computer Center.

Dr. Henry Meyer and Miss Donna MacLeod, from the University of Michigan, School of Social Work, designed an instrument in 1959, entitled Values Questionnaire for measuring the attitudes of social workers. In 1960, Drs. Meyer and Litwak and project staff members modified this instrument to make it appropriate for administration to approximately 750 experimental and control school teachers in the Detroit Great Cities Project. This modified instrument titled What Do You Think About These Social Questions? measures nine dimensions.

Value Dimension Number	Value Dimension Title
I	Individual Worth vs System Goals
II	Personal Liberty vs Societal Control
III	Group Responsibility vs Individual Responsibility
IV	Security-Satisfaction vs Struggle-Suffering-Denial
V	Relativism-Secularism vs Absolutism-Sacredness
VI	Innovation-Change vs Traditionalism
VII	Changeable Human Nature vs Inherent Human Nature-Fatalism
VIII	Diversity-Heterogeneity vs Consensus-Homogeneity-Conformity
IX	Interdependence vs Individual Autonomy

The values questionnaire's 72 questions, plus the information survey's 18 questions, have been processed through the Computer Center at the University of Michigan. Although we can acknowledge that the date from these instruments have most significant implications for the project's program and perhaps for education in Detroit, any reporting of these data as such would tend to contaminate seriously the results of the projected post-tests, particularly in our control schools.

Indeed, the mid-point of a five-year demonstration project is an awkward time for reporting in detail the significant results of evaluation and research. Base line data have been gathered and are in the process of being analyzed and interpreted. Yet we have only subjective evidence that we have increased the competence of particular individuals and groups of children, youth and adults.

We have data to indicate that IQ scores have been substantially increased in certain situations; that achievement scores have been materially affected by specialized coaching and enrichment programs; that parent participation in school and after-school programming is far beyond our expectations; that public and private agency involvement and cooperation is increasing rapidly as these agencies come to know the objectives of the project.

We know all these things, yet we do not know, at this point in time, the lasting effect of changes in IQ and achievement, nor the degree of reinforcement of the school by parents and agencies, nor the positive change in the aspirations of parents and of children. We know we are providing significant service to the children and the families of the children. But only depth evaluation over a sufficient period of time can tell us those aspects of our program which are appropriate for movement to school areas beyond the demonstration project.

In addition, therefore, to the evaluation procedures mentioned above, it is important that we examine in detail those larger educational and sociological aspects of the project which will be determinants in movement of the project through the school system. To assist us in the examination of three of these aspects, Dr. Eugene Litwak, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, has prepared three working papers. These papers are:

1. Notes on the Relationship Between Family, Educational Achievement, and Good Citizenship, July 25, 1961.

2. Notes on the Relationship Between Neighborhood, Educational Achievement, and Good Citizenship, July 31, 1961.

3. Notes on the Relationship Between Administrative Behavior, Educational Achievement, and Good Citizenship, August 22, 1961.

The concepts which have been delineated in these documents and reviewed and modified by project staff and Drs. Litwak and Meyer, will be tested in a research program involving the project elementary schools, two control schools and two elementary schools outside the project. With the financial support of the Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan and funds from additional sources, interview schedules and questionnaires are being prepared and staff organized to test the hypothesis outlined in the working papers. As Dr. Litwak says,

> The full and systematic exploration of these problems is a necessary prerequisite for setting up programs which will be meaningful to the Great Cities Improvement Project. The simultaneous consideration of all three memorandum involving family, neighborhood, and administrative behavior should eventually permit the establishment of better relations between school and community.[1]

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[1]Litwak, Eugene, Notes on Relationships Between Administrative Behavior, Educational Achievement, and Good Citizenship, (Working Paper, Mimeograph); August 22, 1961, p.13.

Conclusion

What are the "short term" forecasts for the Great Cities Project in Detroit? It is believed that a considerably larger number of children attending project schools will leave them with positive self-images, higher goals, greater scholastic achievement and improved citizenship; more adequately prepared for continuing school or going to work--independent rather than dependent citizens.

It should be stressed that the Detroit Great Cities Project is not unique in its premises or in its purposes. Individual teachers and schools in Detroit and across the nation are striving to meet the needs of the child with limited background. With little organized help, and no extra funds, their work has been done with dedication and enthusiasm. Such efforts are inspirational, but they are often a stopgap, and we cannot hope that they will resolve a dilemma which has grown to such proportions that it can be met only with concerted, total-community effort. Now, as the community becomes fully aware of wasted manpower, the hard core of unemployed, the high school dropout and his inability in most cases to compete for a place in today's overcrowded, skill-demanding job market, it will turn more and more to educators, first for explanations, and then for positive and workable solutions. And educators must be able to provide these solutions, by bridging the gap between what the schools now offer and what life with increasing technology and urbanization demands of an individual.

And that gap does exist. In spite of the fact that more youth are finishing high school and going on to college, increasing numbers of young

men and women, including a good percentage of the most able and most intelligent youth, do not find what they need in school, do not learn, lose purpose and direction, and drop out. They are abetted by indecisive parents, tolerated by an apathetic community, often tacitly disestablished by the school.

Certainly we have a commitment as a society to these youth. We should live up to that commitment, preferably before the sad decision to drop out is made. We should consider ways to prevent this crisis. It is far more wasteful of human and fiscal resources to wait until rehabilitation is necessary; particularly when we know the ways we must go to reduce drastically the number of dropouts, and to make schooling more effective as preparation for life.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the Detroit Great Cities Project, and similar projects in many great cities, is that it stands as a statement of need, as a formal attempt on the part of a Superintendent and a Board of Education to establish a structure which has the funds, the personnel and the support to do a thorough job of proving that all children, no matter how difficult their situation may be, can be well-educated and positively motivated.

I will close with a short list of observations about youth in today's society, made by Professor Earl Kelley. He states that all adults, and educators in particular, need to keep always before them these points:

1. Our culture is in jeopardy unless we can adequately care for our young.
2. Our young people are all right when we get them. If all is not well with them, it is due to what has happened to them in an adult-managed world.

3. If youth have not been too badly damaged by the life that has been thrust upon them, they enjoy and desire a good society as much as we do.

4. In urban society, our young live under more difficult circumstances than they used to.

5. The amount of juvenile delinquency in any community is a measure of that community's lack of concern for its young.

6. There is really no valid, responsible place in our urban communities for youth. They are a displaced segment of our society.

7. A place must be made for them, and it seems to me that the only feasible place is the school.[1]

It is our hope that the Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project, in consultation and coordination with other Great Cities projects, can make schools in depressed urban areas the really "feasible place" for youth to grow to independent competent citizenship.

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[1]Kelley, Earl C. In Defense of Youth, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey), 1962, p. 145.